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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1361

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### CONTENTS

PAGE

#### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- 'TVORBA' Comments on Warsaw Pact's Bucharest Proposal  
(Zdenek Horeni; TVORBA, 22 Dec 76)..... 1

#### ALBANIA

- Minister Describes Activities in Education, Culture  
(Tefta Cami Interview; BASHKIMI, 24 Dec 76)..... 7

#### EAST GERMANY

- Research Developments in Marxist-Leninist Linguistics  
(SPEKTRUM, Dec 76)..... 13

Results of Joint Efforts, by Guenter Feudel  
New Modern Dictionary, Guenter Feudel, et al.  
Interview

#### POLAND

- Activities of Siedlce PZPR Executive Body Described  
(Ryszard Swierkowski; PERSPEKTYWY, 24 Dec 76)..... 21

#### ROMANIA

- Current Tasks of Military Medicine  
(Alexandru Gr. Popescu; REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA,  
Jul-Sep 76)..... 30

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 'TVORBA' COMMENTS ON WARSAW PACT'S BUCHAREST PROPOSAL

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 52-53, 22 Dec 76 p 6

/Article by Zdenek Horeni: "To Untangle the Knot of Disarmament"/

/Text/ A New Foreign Policy Initiative of the Warsaw Pact States

As a result of the growing consumption of energy, in the next decade 36 countries in the world will possess enough fissionable material to produce 30 to 60 atomic bombs. These facts make it imperative to establish a more effective system of international control, which must prevent further proliferation of atomic weapons....

As a matter of fact, the above words should be in quotation marks. This author borrowed them from a report delivered to a little-known conference of 15 West European parties which was held on 5 and 6 November of this year in Amsterdam and where the principal--so to say, the keynote--speech was presented by Willy Brandt. To be quite precise, these are the words of W. Brandt himself.

The facts mentioned by Brandt in a single little paragraph of his extensive address in reality sound a far-reaching warning which we, the communists, cannot endorse. This is a warning which, incidentally, was voiced just a few weeks before the political advisory committee of the Warsaw Pact, meeting in Bucharest, addressed to all the participants of the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation an appeal to take upon themselves a contractual commitment that they will not be the first ones to use atomic arms against each other.

"The Government Will Study the Document"

Meanwhile, by authorization of the Bucharest meeting, Soviet diplomats submitted to the governments of the "Helsinki" countries a proposal of such an agreement, containing altogether about 200 words.

--It presumes that no nuclear weapons will be used on land, sea, air or in space; this concerns not only the territories of the signatory states but also their armed forces, wherever they may be stationed in the world.

--As one of further joint actions, it is motivated by the purpose of strengthening mutual trust between states with different social systems, preventing military confrontation and supporting disarmament.

--It excludes the use of nuclear weapons or the threat of their use in mutual relations of the states; on the contrary, it supports the effort to reduce the threat of nuclear war in Europe and all over the world.

As customary, the officials and functionaries who accepted the proposal of the agreement limited themselves to the meaningless phrase that "their government would study the document."

Thus a new, unusually important initiative in foreign policy developed; it attempts to take just one little step, to offer just one partial solution of an enormous problem; nevertheless, it undoubtedly may play a meaningful role by creating trust--which is so necessary for the untangling of the knot of disarmament.

An "Argument" of DIE PRESSE

In its reports from Bucharest, the British news agency--and it was not the only one--put this initiative in quotation marks. This followed the line of the good old cold-war custom to denigrate everything coming from the Warsaw Pact and from the socialist countries in general. As a matter of fact, 10 years ago bourgeois journalists from the NATO states likewise put in quotation marks the initiative of the Bucharest meeting of the Warsaw Pact--the initiative calling for the convocation of a European conference on security and cooperation. Now any schoolboy knows what has become of those doubtcasting quotation marks.

On the next day (28 November) the views of the commentator of the Viennese bourgeois journal DIE PRESSE became even bolder when he lightheartedly reported about this year's appeal by the political advisory committee that it "belonged in the area of cheap propaganda." Certain "neutralists" from Vienna seem to have such arrogant attitudes in their blood. However, one thing in the aforementioned commentary of DIE PRESSE cannot be left unmentioned--the statement that the proposal of the agreement allegedly must be motivated by some "other reasons" than its real motives. Why? Supposedly because the leaders of European countries whose commitment this concerns "in their majority have never as much as laid eyes on any atomic bomb, not to say that they would not be able to make any decisions about its use." The only "serious opponent" of the Soviet Union allegedly is the United States, which already has signed numerous agreements on reduction of the threat of nuclear war....

And that sure is quite an argument. It is an argument for the purpose of shaking that great majority of European states which at this moment in fact do not possess any nuclear weapons and therefore cannot make decisions

about their use. It is an argument coming at the most opportune moment to the aid of the Atlantic Pact which finds the Bucharest appeal extremely disagreeable, as appears from the meeting of the NATO ministers.

It cannot be denied that DIE PRESSE is quite insidious. To be sure, it is published in a country that keeps on proclaiming itself one of the neutral states and of which it is well known that it does not have any atomic weapons at its disposal. The gentlemen from DIE PRESSE simply wish to put a bee in Europe's bonnet: What's the use of an international agreement whereby states commit themselves not to use a weapon in case of a conflict, a weapon which, in fact, their leaders have not as much as "laid eyes on?"

Does Austria Plan To Exploit the Moon?

The argument of DIE PRESSE, of course, cannot hold out against the hard logic of facts for one moment.

International law recognizes numerous documents by which states obligate themselves not to use one or another type of weapon that were not at their disposal at the moment of the signing. For instance, several states in the world jointly signed an agreement which excludes any military use of the Moon (Agreement on Principles of Action of States in the Exploration and Exploitation of Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies). Even those countries--the majority of signatories--which do not have any space rockets capable of reaching the surface of the Moon and which are not planning any such attempts have made such a commitment--among them Austria, which ratified the agreement in 1968. And it is the same case with other international documents--for instance, the pact on non-proliferation of nuclear arms.

Today nuclear arms are not run-of-the-mill, widespread armaments. Today. But what about tomorrow, what about the day after tomorrow, if mankind fails to prevent the frenzied arms race from spreading? Even the Social Democrat Brandt, at the aforementioned Amsterdam conference, stressed that within a mere decade there may be, according to his statement, as many as 36 countries capable of producing 30 to 60 atomic bombs; it also was Brandt who, face to face with said facts, demanded that "a more effective system of international control be established"--of course, a control that would prevent other countries from producing nuclear bombs.

The Helsinki Commitment

By the way, the Bucharest declaration even focuses its attention on the above problem. Its point of departure is that all states, without any discrimination whatsoever, should have access to the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and that the situation which will thus develop demands an effective international control pursuant to the regulations of the International Agency for Atomic Energy. At the same time, the political advisory committee of the Warsaw Pact unanimously emphasized its support for consolidation of administration for non-proliferation of nuclear arms.

The political advisory committee, however, did not limit itself to a mere statement or warning. Motivated by an effort to take another effective step toward eliminating the danger of a nuclear war, it proposed that a pact be signed to help stake out an additional zone where nuclear weapons would be prohibited.

As the Austrian DIE PRESSE points out, the Soviet Union has already concluded several similar agreements with the United States.

--In 1971 the Agreement on Measures To Reduce the Threat of Nuclear War was signed by the USSR and the United States, whereby both parties committed themselves to, according to their judgment, further implement and improve pertinent organizational and technical measures so as to prevent any accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons.

--In 1973 the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the U.S. president confirmed the Agreement on Prevention of Nuclear War, whereby both countries obligated themselves to proceed so as to avoid military confrontations and to prevent any outbreak of nuclear war against each other and between either of them and other countries.

The multilateral commitment which the Warsaw Pact countries now propose to all their partners in the Helsinki Conference should follow and further develop this general effort.

In fact, this is an initiative pointing toward one of the specific ways to realize the 35 countries' joint position confirmed in Helsinki by the Final Act:

"The participating states recognize the interest of all of them in efforts aimed at lessening military confrontation and promoting disarmament which are designed to complement political detente in Europe and to strengthen their security. They are convinced of the necessity to take effective measures in these fields which by their scope and by their nature constitute steps towards the ultimate achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, and which should result in strengthening peace and security throughout the world."

It is not useless to again remind certain people of these commitments.

What Is Concealed Behind the "Flexible Reprisal"

Mr Manfred Woerner, the speaker for the West German opposition on "issues of political defense," was among the first individuals to declare the Bucharest initiative as "totally unacceptable." By neutralizing nuclear arms, the core of the West's "deterrent potential" allegedly would be crippled and "the balance of power shattered to the disadvantage of the West."

Similar declarations torpedoing the proposal of the agreement also were made early in December by other cold warriors.

And following this prologue, the NATO ministers issued a declaration on 9 and 10 December that the member countries of the pact "cannot renounce the use of any means at their disposal for their defense" and cannot change their doctrine of "flexible reprisal." As explained by THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, that doctrine proclaims that "NATO would reply to an attack with conventional arms by graduated reprisal in the range from conventional weapons to nuclear arms which, however, would only be the last resort."

It is not difficult to decipher what is concealed under the camouflage of such words: NATO is clinging tooth and nail to its fabulous aggressive weapons, which it needs neither for defense nor as "deterrent" since the NATO countries are not being threatened with a war by anybody. Certain forces of world imperialism nevertheless link such arms with their futile hopes for inflicting a destructive blow to the countries of world socialism.

#### The Most Timely, the Most Urgent Task of This Time

The struggle for nuclear arms limitation and ultimately, for their elimination from mankind's life represents a relatively new era in the struggle for the security of Europe (and in fact, of the world).

The problem of European security is nothing new. It appeared neither today nor yesterday. It was introduced on the agenda more than 60 years ago by World War I. It reappeared in its full extent during the ascension of Hitler's fascism and in the fierce battles of World War II, during which more than 50 million persons perished. Mankind was convinced that it was fighting the very last world war, and in 1945 it really seemed that realization of Europe's security was within reach. The cold war, the development of the aggressive NATO pact and all that is connected with it blighted such hopes like a frostbite.

The Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation, which meant a great victory of reason and political realism, again resurrected hopes for peace in Europe. Thus, a perspective was created for turning the relaxation of international tensions--for which the socialist countries, among them also Czechoslovakia, had been struggling for long years--into an uninterrupted as well as a more versatile and viable process in the interest of all European nations, in the interest of establishing peace as a constant factor.

At this time, however, the Warsaw Pact countries again called the attention of all of Europe and of the world to the fact that it is scarcely possible to build lasting peaceful life on heaps of weapons. The Bucharest declaration unequivocally emphasized that the positive tendencies in the development of international relations cannot be irreversible if the frenzied arms



race cannot be halted, if disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, cannot be achieved and if the threat of world war cannot be eliminated. The political advisory committee of the Warsaw Pact described that task as the "most timely and the most urgent task of the current era."

That was the reason for the urgency with which the Warsaw Pact in Bucharest formulated its initiatives in international policy.

That is the reason for the urgency of one of the initiatives--the agreement binding the states not to be the first to use nuclear arms.

Lest We Later Have a Reason To Blame Ourselves....

DIE PRESSE wants to hoodwink its bourgeois readers that this is "cheap propaganda." How many times has the world heard such remarks intended to lull its consciousness, its peace struggle.

The struggle for peace, for disarmament is no "cheap propaganda." It is an effort which, now more than ever before, bears in mind the hard-learned lesson of the past. World Wars I and II were instigated by aggressive forces in deep secrecy, under the guise of a number of fraudulent statements concerning defensive objectives. In order to dull the nations' vigilance, the enormous apparatus of the reactionary, bourgeois press, an enormous apparatus of cunning and purposeful misinformation, was used.

In the end, the nations saw the truth, but that was only after millions of people has already perished. This cannot be permitted to happen for the third time--in the century of nuclear arms, in the century of powerful missiles capable of turning the deep military rear into the frontlines of the battleground.

Late in November Leonid Brezhnev declared, in one of his speeches in Bucharest stressing the necessity to intensify the disarmament effort: "Let us proceed so that later not one of us will have a reason to blame himself for not having done all that was possible."

That is the wisdom of a hard-learned lesson.

And in fact, that also is an answer to the cheap propaganda writers from DIE PRESSE and elsewhere.

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ALBANIA

MINISTER DESCRIBES ACTIVITIES IN EDUCATION, CULTURE

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 24 Dec 76 pp 1, 2

/Interview with Tefta Cami, minister of education and culture: "The Strengthening of the Ideological Content of All School Work Is the Fundamental Aspect of the Enforcement of the Party's Policy for the Further Revolutionization of Education"

/Text/ Question: Comrade Minister, with what success are the workers on the educational, cultural and physical-education front concluding the first year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan?

Answer: The workers on the educational, cultural and physical-education front, like all other workers in our country, being guided by the party and having always as their compass the party directives and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, have mobilized themselves as never before to greet the seventh party congress and the 35th anniversary of the party's founding with full hands and heads held high.

In executing the decisions of the eighth plenum of the party Central Committee in June of 1969, the decisions of the fourth plenum of the party Central Committee and the teachings of Comrade Enver in his speech of 20 December 1974 on literature and the arts, all-around efforts have been made during this year by the teachers, pedagogs, culture and physical-culture workers, by the mass organizations, the state and economic organs, and so forth, which, under the leadership of the local party organizations, have striven untiringly for the further revolutionization of the schools so that all cultural, artistic, physical-culture and sports activities may be pervaded by the Marxist-Leninist ideology of our party. Our schools are becoming more and more an inseparable part of the life of every worker and a mighty anvil for the revolutionary class annealing of the young generation of Socialist Albania, where people not only learn but work and exercise militarily, where skilled workers and soldiers loyal to the cause of the party and the people, capable of building socialism and defending the fatherland, are being trained.

In the whole educational and instructional process of our schools the main stress has been on strengthening the Marxist-Leninist ideological pivot, as directed by the eighth plenum of the party Central Committee, to the effect that our new schools must be characterized first and foremost by the giving of absolute priority in all school work to the Marxist-Leninist ideological pivot, to Marxist-Leninist doctrine, to the all-around Marxist-Leninist ideological and political education of the youth and of all workers attending the schools; to their arming with Marxist-Leninist theory, the philosophy of dialectic and historical materialism, the ideology and policy of our party and the teachings of Comrade Enver.

A good job has been done during this year in preparing the textbooks and school programs on the basis of the soundest ideological and scientific criteria so that they may respond better and faster to the vigor of the construction of socialism in our country and reflect better the theoretical thought of our party and Comrade Enver's teachings, the revolutionary practice of socialist construction in Albania, the all-around fight of the Albanian Workers Party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha against imperialism and modern revisionism, their fierce encirclement and blockade against our country, and the alien blemishes and remnants of liberalism, bureaucratism and patriarchalism in the consciences of our people.

In the struggle and all-around effort that has been and is being made by all educational cadres to harmonize as well as possible the three components of our revolutionized schools--learning, productive work and physical and military education--we have succeeded in tying the schools better to life and production. Everyone is coming to realize more thoroughly the revolutionary concept that the school is not a place where one studies to get a diploma and occupy some comfortable job, but a place where skilled workers and cooperativists are trained--the future builders of our socialist society and the able warriors for the defense of the socialist fatherland.

Further achievements have also been recorded with regard to the massivization of the schools. In socialist Albania one out of every three persons is now sitting on school benches of all categories, with or without separation from work. Education has become the property of the broad working masses, the workers and cooperativists, who zealously attend school after work to increase their scientific and technical-vocational knowledge and move socialist production forward.

In the struggle to apply as well as possible the teachings of Comrade Enver during his visits to the districts of Korce and Pogradec, that the younger generation might be educated with a liking for working and living in the country, the school youth has expressed a readiness to attend the secondary agricultural schools not only in the country but in towns, since, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, socialism is being built not only in the towns and not only for the working class, but also in the country and for the peasants. In the light of these teachings, 72 new secondary agricultural schools have been opened throughout our country during this school year.

The grand successes which we are having in developing our popular instruction are testimony to the great care shown by the party and Comrade Enver for our new socialist schools, for the instruction of our new man and his equipment with the maximum of ideopolitical and technical-scientific knowledge, and for his elevation from the cultural side, with a sound materialistic dialectic outlook on life and the world.

Another expression of the great and continual care of the party and Comrade Enver is the all-around measures of an economic-financial character taken by the party and government for school construction and cultural institutions, to strengthen their material base, and so forth. On the basis of the decision of the party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania adopted this year, the state has taken over payment of the personnel of the houses of culture in the countryside as well, in the centers of the enlarged farm cooperatives, and the investments in the construction of rural schools and kindergartens, as well as of the houses of culture in the centers of the farm cooperatives. This important measure has given a new impetus to the great job being done in our country under the leadership of the party for the instructional, cultural and social development of our new socialist countryside.

Urban and rural cultural and artistic life have taken on a special vitality during this jubilee year of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the party. All cultural and artistic activity is reflecting the life and work of the working masses with class tendentiousness, under the leadership of the party and Comrade Enver; the revolutionary fervor of the masses, the movements, initiatives and mass drives in the fields of education, production and defense of the fatherland. Proletarian partisanship and the national character have been strengthened in culture, literature and the arts, and good qualitative results have been obtained on the ideo-artistic level of all this creativity. Among the national activities--without mentioning those carried on on the scale of a district, enterprise or farm cooperative--we may cite the festival of the professional drama theaters, the Albanian film week, the many performances by artist ensembles and stages of the districts and the work and production centers on the eve of the seventh party congress and during its transactions in Tirana. At the national dramaturgy contest 148 dramas and comedies of one or more acts, and so forth, and 70 scenarios for different films were presented. Likewise worthy of mention are other cultural and artistic activities such as the "May Decade" /period of 10 days/ and the 15th song festival on radio-television, which is being held just now; and so forth. The "New Albania" motion picture studio has prepared 14 new art films, 53 documentary films and 26 newsreels. Altogether, 210 literary works and 171 political-social works have been published. A notable success has been scored by the national exposition of the representative arts devoted to the 35th anniversary of the founding of the party and its seventh congress, in which 378 authors presented 445 works, with a sound ideo-artistic content. Such expositions have also been opened in other districts of the country.

Many physical-culture and sports activities have been carried on on a national scale, in the districts and localities. They have further annealed our workers physically and enhanced their proficiency in sports.

Question: The seventh party congress has also set many great tasks in the fields of education, culture and physical culture. Where do you think the most attention should be concentrated in the coming year in order to carry out those tasks as well as possible?

Answer: At the seventh party congress, Comrade Enver declared: "Strengthening the ideological content of all school work is for the future, too, a fundamental and most important aspect of the enforcement of the party's policy of revolutionizing instruction." The performance of this party task imposes many important tasks upon our schools, the government organs in the districts and localities, the educational institutions, the mass organizations, teachers and pupils, students and pedagogs, and the family itself. For this purpose, the Ministry of Education and Culture has prepared a broad plan of prospective work detailing the tasks assigned to us by the seventh party congress and defining the ways and means of attaining that objective. This work begins with the preparation and qualitative improvement of the textbooks and instruction programs, so that they may have a sound ideological content and a high scientific level. There will also be a notable turnaround in regard to the preparation of printed lectures in order to give more aid to the students in the university and the other higher institutes of our country in the accurate assimilation of theoretical knowledge.

Another important task is the ideological and professional training of teachers and pedagogs, since it is precisely they who will inculcate in the pupils and students the materialistic-dialectic world view of everything. Therefore, the main task for them remains the continual study, programmed and with pencil in hand, of the party's documents and Comrade Enver's Works, not simply for the sake of erudition, but to put them into revolutionary practice, to teach them to pupils and students as well as possible. Likewise, they must tie themselves closer to the localities, to the workers, to production, so that their knowledge may be placed in the service of closer ties between the schools and our socialist life. We have drafted a detailed program of work for the mass ideo-professional qualification of the instructional cadres, which will begin to be put into effect at once, in 1977. It is a task for the educational and cultural sectors in the districts, the school directorates and the pedagogical offices [kabinete] to concern themselves with following up this program so as to insure the best possible ideo-professional training by teachers and pedagogs. Thus it will be possible to have the most thorough assimilation of Marxist-Leninist theory, and the best reflection, in the instructional-educational process, of the theoretical thinking of our party and the teachings of Comrade Enver, the experience in the socialist construction of our country, which are the foundation of all work in strengthening the ideological content in the schools and will serve to strengthen the educating and forming role of our schools.

One of the main tasks set by the seventh party congress for the schools and for their further revolutionization in the present stage is--as Comrade Enver stressed in his report--the full and organic merging of the three components, in content and in method, which complement one another. This task is set up in order to achieve two great objectives: first, to give revolutionary education and annealing to the young generation and, second, to raise the quality of all work in the schools. To achieve this properly, there must, first of all, be a correct understanding that the total and organic merger of the three components is not merely a pedagogical matter, with which only a few specialists need concern themselves, but a question of world outlook, with which everyone--teachers, pupils and parents, government and economic organs, and the mass organizations--must concern himself, under the guidance of the local party organizations. We say this because we have also rather large gaps precisely with regard to the ever better harmonization of the three components. Therefore, in addition to other things, it is necessary to study and generalize the good experience of the most outstanding schools in the country, such as the secondary agricultural school in Delvine, the 7 Nentori secondary industrial school in Tirana, and the 8-year schools in Sheper e Gjirokastres, the Fiqiri Kurti in Kavaje, the 20-Vjetori in Tirana, and so forth, as well as a good many other schools in the districts, which likewise have rich experience in this respect.

Important tasks have emerged for the educational workers also with regard to attracting and keeping intact the contingents of pupils in the 8-year schools, with or without separation from work, and further expanding secondary education, especially vocational; and in the lower vocational schools and qualification courses for training skilled workers for the various branches of the economy, especially for agriculture, the mines, petroleum, geology, construction, reclamation work, and so forth.

The further revolutionization of our schools will also be promoted by the many revolutionary movements and initiatives and mass drives which have been and are being undertaken by the school and student youth to tie instruction better to life. Also worthy of mention are the initiatives lately launched in our schools to put into effect the historic decisions of the seventh party congress and Comrade Enver's teachings at that congress. Such are the initiatives of the young people in the Raqi Qirinxhi Secondary School in Korce: "Let us always be an assault detachment in carrying on the class struggle. Let us keep ever kindled in our minds and hearts the communist ideals and the revolutionary spirit"; that of the 7 Nentori Secondary Industrial School in Tirana: "Let us revolutionize the school by teaching, working and exercising as if encircled"; as well as a good many others, to live and work always in our beautiful socialist countryside, become red commissars of light in the countryside and banner-bearers for the enforcement of the decisions of the seventh party congress.

The seventh party congress has also set great tasks for the workers in culture, literature and art, so that these sectors may be pervaded from top to bottom by the basic principles of socialist realism, proletarian

partisanship, the popular spirit and the national physiognomy, and that our artists and writers may militate for and follow step by step the revolutionary transformations of the country. During the coming year creativity must be increased, cultural and artistic activities in the towns and countryside must be further intensified, and the number of new books published, of literary works, music and representative art works, cinematographic productions, and so forth, should be increased, with special care being shown for their sound ideological content. Similarly, more care should be shown for deepening and broadening scientific research work in all sectors and links. These studies and generalizations will contribute to solving a good many problems regarding the development of education, culture and physical culture in our country.

The physical-culture and sports workers, as the party teaches us, will take greater care of the physical annealing of the working masses, the further development of physical culture and sports, always bearing in mind the need to enhance them in quality as well as in extent.

We express complete confidence that the educational organs in the districts and the localities, the educational, cultural and physical-culture workers, under the guidance of the local party organs, will further perfect their revolutionary method and style of work, deepen the class struggle in those sectors and apply all their mental and physical energies to making a reality of the great and important tasks set for us by the seventh party congress and Comrade Enver's teachings, namely to further revolutionize instruction, culture, art and physical culture, so that they may make an ever better contribution to socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland.

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EAST GERMANY

RESEARCH DEVELOPMENTS IN MARXIST-LENINIST LINGUISTICS

Results of Joint Efforts

East Berlin SPEKTRUM in German Vol 7 No 12, Dec 76 pp 14-15

[Article by Prof Dr Guenter Feudel, director, Central Institute for Linguistics: "Successful Joint Effort of GDR Linguistic" For related article see JPRS 66216, 25 Nov 75, No 1163 of this series pages 14-18]

[Text] In many respects, the publication of "Theoretische Probleme der Sprachwissenschaft" (Theoretical Problems of Linguistics) as volume 9 of the series "Sprache und Gesellschaft" (Language and Society) amounts to a landmark in the development of linguistics in the GDR.

For the first time under the authority of the Central Institute for Linguistics, Marxist linguists from the various linguistics institutions, the Academy as well as from university and technical school affairs and from public education, came together for cooperative efforts and, in their collective endeavors, fulfilled an important assignment with which GDR linguistics had been charged by the first central plan of social science research, 1971-1975. They purposefully surmounted the former isolation and fragmentation of individual philological investigations, that had been so characteristic of linguistics down to most recent times, concentrated their efforts on producing a central project, and literally pulled themselves together, through arduous work, on behalf of common basic conceptions on important theoretical problems in linguistics.

In the course of the collective efforts on behalf of this work, not only the barriers between the various philological disciplines, formerly seeming insurmountable, were done away with, however, but a genuine interdisciplinary, more or less close, collaboration with Marxist philosophers, psychologists, sociologists and historians has been initiated. A smoothly flowing exchange of scientific views with representatives of other Marxist-Leninist social sciences has led in numerous areas to significantly deepening the presentation and to integrating the linguistic problems within the general social science context.



At the same time, the work on this project is leading to a revitalization of scientific debate among GDR linguists to an extent that would have been inconceivable as late as the late '60's. By means of a prepublication of the book in five installments of LINGUISTISCHE STUDIEN DES ZISW (Linguistic Studies of the Central Institute for Linguistics), one could make certain that many individual problems, whole sections and chapters even, would come under discussion in all linguistic institutions in our republic. The positions taken, the critiques and recommendations, became subject of a special working session held in honor of the 25th anniversary of our republic, from 21 to 23 October 1974, in Sellin on the island of Ruegen, where again all linguistic institutions and certain domains from the field of practical affairs were represented. Through the broad discussion of the central problems, the work on the book has involved a circle of linguists that is far wider than that of the scientists who have established themselves as authors. It may be said without exaggeration that the participation in the important problems of the book thus became a concern of all Marxist scientists in our republic.

These are all important factors for the development of linguistics in our country. The most important aspect probably is, however, that the first collective attempt is being undertaken in this book toward making a contribution to the elaboration of basic Marxist-Leninist positions in linguistics whereby to integrate linguistics with the Marxist-Leninist social sciences. This is a configuration that might sound trivial to representatives of other social science disciplines, as it is understood, for example, as far as philosophers and economists are concerned, that genuine scientific research is possible only on the foundation of dialectic and historical materialism. But that was not quite so self-evident to many linguists up to the most recent past. GDR linguistics in the '50's and '60's, due to the need to catch up, which had been caused by the self-isolation of linguistics in the fascist period, had more seriously endeavored to regain contact with the international status of its problems. For most of our linguists, however, that meant focusing on theories and methods of late bourgeois, logical positivistic trends of a structuralistic mold reducing the complex and multi-layered phenomenon of language in general to an abstract system, devoid of all social relevance and self-contained, and oblivious to the social functions of language. Ahistorism and demythologization spread in linguistics, and party-mindedness and ideology were rated as incompatible with genuine scientific endeavor. The important achievements of Soviet (and Russian) linguistics, for all intents and purposes, remained unknown, not last because of language difficulties. There were even then, of course, serious attempts made by linguists at adopting Marxist positions. But they remained isolated and without lasting consequence.

In the course of the work on the new project a turning point has been reached in the situation of GDR linguistics. The book demonstrates that the linguists in our republic are proceeding from Marxist-Leninist positions in the central concerns of their science and are constantly trying to deepen them further.

In the present work, distinguished by a thorough study of the founders of Marxism-Leninism and by a careful exploitation of Soviet literature in this field, the authors endeavor to treat central problems of linguistics from the positions of dialectic and historical materialism. They include the aspects of language as being socially conditioned and in its social function, the relationship between language, consciousness and objective reality, that between the structural and the functional aspects, the nature of language as a system, its differentiating social quality and other important questions. Proceeding from the social nature of language, its functions in society are dealt with, as well as the tasks linguistics receives from that, by use of the example of public education. In the final analysis language is derived from material activity. Both its immediate emergence and purpose derive from its communicative function within the framework of the overall historic life's processes of society. It is being demonstrated that the dialectic unity between language and consciousness forms the premise for the social functions of language and that, in the exploration of the language system the functional and structural aspects likewise have to be regarded as a dialectic unity. It is also being shown that the system and functions of language are subject to social differentiations and change and develop historically. In this, the dialectic relation between variability and development of language, on the one hand, and the inevitability of its own nature, on the other, are determined by the social character of language. At the end, by the use of the example of several languages, their connections with history and with the organizational forms and interests of society are examined in detail.

The authors seek to expand the subject field of linguistics considerably and to show that linguistic problems also are tied in with basic philosophic problems. It is being demonstrated that even though language has properties that resemble the research subjects in the natural sciences, yet the coordination of language as a whole as well as the integration of nature and society in our world image is a supremely ideological problem. This underscores that linguistics is a social science and its theoretical and methodological principles are subject to ideological debate. The purpose of the book thus is to fulfill not only a theoretical task but an ideological task as well. In the central issues of linguistic theory, the authors engage in confrontation, pervaded by party-mindedness, with the various bourgeois theories such as linguistic structuralism, neo-Humboldtianism, bourgeois sociolinguistics and so forth.

By no means are the authors raising the claim of having presented with their book any all-inclusive Marxist-Leninist theory of language. They are aware that many problems mentioned in the book require further discussion and more thorough research. Yet they are hopeful of having provided by this work not only an impetus to further Marxist foundations to be laid for linguistics but also an important theoretical and ideological orientation for college teachers, students, the other teachers and, above and beyond them, a broad public circle of people interested in language. Finally they promise themselves that the publication of the book will revitalize the scholarly debate and exchange of experiences in the sections of the advanced schools and other language facilities as well as with representatives of related disciplines, which doubtless will significantly advance the clarification of basic problems in linguistics.

## New Modern Dictionary

East Berlin SPEKTRUM in German Vol 7 No 12, Dec 76 pp 20-24

[Joachim Moerke interview with Prof Dr Guenter Feudel, director, Central Institute for Linguistics; Dr Ruth Klappenbach, author of "Woerterbuch der deutschen Gegenwartssprache" (Dictionary of Contemporary German); Dr Guenter Kempcke and Dr Helene Malige-Klappenbach, editors]

[Text] [Question] Two events of importance to GDR linguistics came together in 1961: The last installment of the German Dictionary (Deutsches Woerterbuch) by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm came out and, at the same time, the first two installments of the Dictionary of Contemporary German (Woerterbuch der deutschen Gegenwartssprache) which is now reaching its conclusion with its 56th and final installment. Was there something coincidental in this?

[Feudel] Had it been up to the Brothers Grimm, such a coincidence could never have happened, for they intended to be finished with their project within approximately one decade. Yet the enormous inventory of the German vocabulary in the last 4 centuries still took 107 years and is now available in 32 splendid volumes. It shows how lengthy and laborious such a project is. The 5 1/2-volume dictionary we are now talking about, edited by Dr Klappenbach and the late Wolfgang Steinitz, member of the Academy, took approximately 25 years.

[Klappenbach] As far as we were concerned, we had scheduled the first two installments of our dictionary to appear at that time not last because we had wanted to come out with a special surprise for the then director of the Institute, Theodor Frings, member of the Academy, for the 50th anniversary of his doctorate.

[Question] How can one describe the Dictionary of Contemporary German and how does it differ from Duden and from the German Dictionary of the Brothers Grimm?

[Kempcke] Our Dictionary is a dictionary of meanings recording the German vocabulary now in use, different from Duden, which mainly informs about orthography, and mainly from the Grimm Dictionary with its pronounced historical interest in exploring and describing the history of words. We do without historical and etymological data and only indicate derivations in case of foreign words.

[Klappenbach] We understand by the term "contemporary language" the German that is spoken and written today in ordinary speech, science, art, technology, economics and administration, in social organizations and parties as well as the vocabulary in the belles-lettres of classical and, partly also, of enlightenment literature. As a dictionary of meaning for contemporary German did not exist until then, Prof Dr W. Steinitz proposed, when the Institute for German

Language was founded at the time, in 1952, to produce a dictionary that would describe and stylistically evaluate the modern vocabulary of the German literary language (also called "written German" or "high German"). As a model he had in mind the 4-volume "Ushakov" which came out in the USSR between 1935 and 1940 and which treats the vocabulary of contemporary Russian under normative points of view.

[Feudel] It is interesting to remember that no one less than V. I. Lenin even a short time after the October Revolution proposed this kind of a dictionary for the Russian literary language. This is what he wrote to Lunacharski in 1920: "Would it not be about time to produce a dictionary of contemporary Russian, a lexicon of words, let us say, that are in use now and also found in the classic writers from Pushkin to Gorki?" Whole generations of Russian language specialists in the Soviet Union have since devoted themselves to that task and presented other compendia along with "Ushakov," among which one should mention primarily the 17-volume dictionary of the Russian literary language, completed in 1967. The collective that performed this excellent scientific achievement got the Lenin Prize for it. Such thesauri of the national literary language -- and I am thinking here also of the dictionary of the Academie Francaise, Larousse, or the Oxford Dictionary -- play a great role in the life of their nation as the national literary language stores a goodly portion of our cultural legacy. That is why it is an important national concern to compile and define the rich vocabulary of a developed literary language and make it available to the user. Germanistics in Germany until 1945 did have a great tradition in the field of historic linguistic research and in the scholarly surveying of dialect vocabularies, but there was no comprehensive dictionary of contemporary German that would furnish information on the modern vocabulary of the German literary language and its spread and use. To have closed that gap is the great distinction of the editors and subject specialists.

[Malige-Klappenbach] When we discussed the use that could be made of our dictionary, we had scientific as well as practical thoughts in mind. And they are extensive indeed. It is meant as an indispensable guide for foreigners learning German as well as for translators, teachers, students, journalists and writers. Moreover, it is also meant to assist people working in the party organizations and the people responsible in government and the economy in making use of a polished German style in their speeches and essays. Thus we had the task to describe the word on all its levels, mainly in terms of semantics and style but also in terms of grammar and phonetics. First we did not know how to do this because there were quite some unresolved theoretical problems connected with it.

[Question] One might think that, as far as our language is concerned, anyone speaking German as his native tongue would know what is needed and could also judge by dint of the vocabulary stored up inside.

[Kempcke] The question only is whether everything that has been stored up does in fact qualify as literary speech and is idiomatic, so to speak, or

might possibly be shaded by the speaker's local area of origin, the social stratum he belongs to, the kind of work he does. That is why literary speech has to be clearly identified and the user has to get a reliable reference work.

[Question] How then did you make your way through the thicket of unresolved problems with regard to language layers, stylistic evaluations, terminological relationships and so forth?

[Klappenbach] Through discussions and discussions time and again, and there we also challenged foreign Germanists for debate. For example, in 1956, we submitted to them, and discussed in a symposium, our first laboriously elaborated sample of the words beginning with "abs" (Absprache, abstreiten, absuchen and so forth). We got quite a number of responses, methodological and conceptual, which in part were contradictory. There was disagreement, for instance, on how we should treat the problem of the compounding of words in which, as one knows, our native tongue is virtually inexhaustible. We asked ourselves which composites should be included and which not. Were these ephemerals or permanent words? Often we had long debates about a single word before we could find a solution.

[Feudel] What actually mattered was to work out a theoretical conception that could support the entire enterprise. To have developed such a conception and to have translated it into practice is what the editor, Dr. Ruth Klappenbach, must mainly be given credit for.

[Question] How then did you approach the gathering and selection of terms? How could you know and determine, for example, what was idiomatic in all the social spheres which you, as Germanists, could not possibly have all taken in and been able to evaluate?

[Malige-Klappenbach] We just simply tried things out, first in a purely conventional manner, however, as we found out by consulting with people in the Soviet Union, the CSSR, Hungary and Bulgaria. That is why our first conclusion was that we needed a card file. It contains a total of approximately 1.5 million terms today, ten times of what we included in the dictionary. Let me show you what I mean: A modern cultural language has roughly 500,000 live words, but in our active vocabulary we get along with from 9,000 to 10,000 words. Goethe is said to have been in command of from 70,000 to 80,000 words, which he probably did not all use in an active sense, however. We had to codify the vocabulary that is typical of our times. To do that, we also used the copious notes of the Grimm Woerterbuch, of the Goethe Woerterbuch and of the Marx-Engels archives of the Academy of Sciences. And then also, we critically exploited the unilingual and bilingual general and specialized dictionaries produced in this century.

[Klappenbach] You asked about our advisors. Here I can tell you that we had permanent access to more than 20 expert authorities in order correctly to explain numerous concepts in the fields of technology, economics, jurisprudence,

medicine and so forth. For the encyclopedias, as we know, are limping some 10 years behind the latest stage. Experts also advised us on Austria, Switzerland and the northern and southern parts of the FRG.

[Kempcke] Many of our references come from the belles-lettres. The people selecting excerpts for us reviewed, among others, the books of Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Becher, Brecht, Seghers, Feuchtwanger, Duerrenmatt and other masters of language. Oral references we collected too, as there are always innovations in a living language, as you know, that have not yet found entry to any literature.

[Malige-Klappenbach] All authors of dictionaries are delighted to be able to include a new term that never was recorded in any compendium before but eventually has established itself. In a Nanga Parbat expedition report, for instance, we found the term "Alleingang" (lone run) and were the first to put it in our dictionary. It has in fact found wide use today, exceeding the context of sports, in many public areas, with a negative connotation, however, expressing a certain degree of willfulness.

[Question] What to you, Prof Feudel, is the importance of the scientific achievement the dictionary has accomplished? Can you tell us more about that?

[Feudel] The importance of the dictionary has repeatedly been recognized in recent years in the press, in scholarly reviews, and this -- I am not about to make a secret of it -- more thoroughly and attentively abroad than here in the GDR. The most important thing to me, let me reiterate, seems to be, along with the precise definitions and lexicographic descriptions of the vocabulary, mainly its unprecedented consistency in the stylistic evaluation of the entire vocabulary. In this respect, the dictionary collective has broken new scientific ground and done pioneering work to a certain extent.

[Klappenbach] Stylistic references are also found, if but to a minor extent, in the Language Brockhaus and in the J. H. Campe dictionary. We decided to define five style levels. In addition we have the shadings of style, for which we chose the following criteria: Jocular -- Adamskostuem (birthday suit) or Angsthase (chicken); familiar -- Alterchen (grandpa); euphemistic -- "abberufen werden" for "sterben" ("to pass away" instead of "to die"); archaic -- alldieweil (whenas); contrived -- certain turns of speech such as "mit Bedacht" (advisedly); "beehren" (to have the honor of something); bureaucrateze -- anteilig (share and share alike), aktenkundig (documentary); excessive -- furchtbar nett (awfully nice); derogatory -- Kraemer (peddler); ironic -- alleinseligmachend (one and only salvation), Amtsmiene (official frown); and profanity -- Aas (trash), Esel (ass). We also distinguish between obsolete and obsolescent terms, indicate new coinages -- like "automation" or "campen" (to camp), Atomernergie (nuclear energy) or bombengeschaedigt (bomb damaged), as well as terms that have come into vogue ("etwa" or "zutiefst"). We had long debates about these stylistic evaluations till they appeared scientifically and practically fungible to us. As we can see, they by and large were adopted publicly.

[Feudel] It is thus all the more odd that the thought is expressed in a current project of the Duden editorial board in Mannheim, an intended 6-volume German dictionary, that "in the German language area there has for several decades been no modern general dictionary of German." In that contention we can see nothing but an infamous distortion of the facts and a deliberate derogation of the scientific achievements of Germanics in the GDR. Not only that the universally recognized fact of the existence of our dictionary is being denied, the Mannheim dictionary still has adopted, without giving any reference, the stylistic criteria we have worked out.

[Question] What, do you think, is the stylistic motivation for that kind of counter-project? Or does this have something to do with the differentiation process of German in east and west?

[Feudel] I can discover no scientific motivation. As to the differentiation process in the vocabulary between the GDR and the FRG, we have carefully been taking account of that and made reference to that ever since our 30th installment which, incidentally, has produced hypocritical laments among official German language specialists in Bonn. They have tried to make it out to be an assault on the so-called unity of the German language. It is remarkable, though, that the Mannheim dictionary is now also taking account of the divergent developments.

[Question] How does this trend toward divergence show?

[Kempcke] These linguistic divergencies come to the fore especially in the part of the vocabulary that pertains to ideology. Take words like state, market, minister, democracy or plan. Here the linguistic form is the same but the content is fundamentally different and can only be explained by the actually prevailing social relations which, as one knows, are class relations. And then there are words that exist only in the GDR (activist, production consultation, innovator, people's correspondent) and others that are typical of the FRG (pay-off, playboy, excise tax, employees). And then there are terms that have lost their social base in the GDR and have virtually disappeared from our active vocabulary, such as firm, civil servant, "Referendar" (junior lawyer), "Privatdozent" (university lecturer), or "Oberschicht" (upper class).

[Question] One final question: What would you wish for our now complete dictionary?

[Klappenbach] That it will get into as many hands as possible.

[Feudel] And that we will get as many concrete and constructive suggestions from its users as possible, which would be to the benefit of later editions as well as for a one-volume edition planned for 1980. This is the way in which the dictionary, furthering the culture of speech, could do a lot for the broadest circles of the working people.

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POLAND

ACTIVITIES OF SIEDLCE PZPR EXECUTIVE BODY DESCRIBED

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish 24 Dec 76 pp 9-12

[Article by Ryszard Swierkowski: "Executive Body"]

[Text] It is 11:10 in the morning. We are leaving the office of the First Secretary. A few final opinions are exchanged in the hall, and the members of the executive body enter the conference room. The tables are arranged in rectangular fashion. On one wall stands a slogan on a black-and-white background, and on the other hangs a portrait of Lenin. They take their seats: the First Secretary, Wojewoda Witold Dabrowski on his right, and on his right Secretary for Agricultural Affairs Zofia Grzebisz-Nowicka; on the left the Wojewodztwo Committee secretaries: Andrzej Hajkowski and Zbigniew Huczek, as well as the Chairman of the Wojewodztwo Party Control Commission, Jan Kiryluk. On one side of the rectangle, near the door, not all the seats are occupied. I find out later that custom dictates that they be left vacant for invited guests, who come and go during the session. I also note that there are no ashtrays and no telephone.

Every two weeks the executive body of the Wojewodztwo Committee holds meetings. Tuesday is the meeting day in Siedlce.

In Siedlce the executive body consists of 20 persons. In addition to the four Wojewodztwo Committee secretaries, there are also two first secretaries of city committees (from Siedlce and Minsk Mazowiecki), the wojewoda and vice-wojewoda, the wojewodztwo commandant of the People's Militia, and three chairmen: of the WRZZ [Wojewodztwo Trade Union Council], the WKKP [Wojewodztwo Party Control Committee] and the Polish Youth Union Federation, the gmina committee secretary, the head of the gmina, the head of the wojewodztwo department of education, and two workers (from the Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops and from Cora), as well as two farmers. A word about women: in conformity with the instructions of the party leadership, one of the Wojewodztwo Committee secretaries is a woman -- Zofia Grzebisz-Nowicka, an agricultural engineer by profession;



in addition to her, there are three other women on the executive body. Fifteen of the members possess higher education. The average age is 47. The oldest member of the executive body, farmer Mieczyslaw Pielak, is 56, while the youngest -- chairman of the wojewodztwo administration of the Polish Socialist Youth Union, Jerzy Swiderski, is 28. Two are members of the legislature -- the First Secretary of the Wojewodztwo Committee, and the Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops worker, Stanislaw Antoszewski.

Since the establishment of the wojewodztwo, the wojewodztwo administrative body has been under the direction of Wiktor Kinecki, a 47-year-old politician, a sociologist by training.

As usual, the meeting begins with personnel matters. The First Secretary reads aloud a letter from the executive body thanking Comrade Leonarda Tykocka for her 12 years service as department head on NASZA TRYBUNA. Editor Tykocka is taking a position in Warsaw.

"There is a proposal," the secretary continued, "to designate Anna Kondraciuk, municipal committee instructor, as senior inspector of the Wojewodztwo Committee cadres sector."

The candidate is obviously nervous; it appears that the secretary wants to put her at ease. He says: "It would be a good thing if you could get your new boss to smile more. Let me introduce her husband (who is enrolled at police school).

The next item on the agenda: the gmina committee secretary in Mokobody, Comrade Glock, requests a transfer to the Kielce Wojewodztwo Committee, because he must care for his parents, who reside there. Wojewodztwo Committee Secretary Hajkowski commented: "He is a fine worker, dedicated. When the need arose, he moved from Siedlce to the gmina." Secretary Kinecki: "I am sorry to see you go, but you will be serving in Kielce, and we are all working for the same party."

I decided to report in brief this initial phase of the meeting of the executive body, for I believe that it characterizes to some degree the style and atmosphere of the proceedings. This atmosphere is determined unquestionably by the specific gravity and category of matters discussed and by the mood which the speakers sometimes impart.

#### Proposals With an Alternative

According to the agenda, next is a report on volunteer inspection activities and results. The members of the executive body have received written information in advance on all agenda items.

"Sometimes these are controversial reports and evaluations," I was informed by Wiktor Kinecki after the meeting. "For it is not uncommon that

proposals or suggestions constitute alternative proposals. Some items also require on-the-spot inspection. In any case, information prepared by the party being appraised is an auxiliary assistance element, but by no means the sole one."

At the chairman's suggestion it was decided to discuss two problems jointly, beginning with information on the subject of supply, with particular focus on preparations by the trade network for the holidays. The chairmen of trade establishments were summoned into the conference hall. The information had been prepared by the trade and services department of the wojewodztwo administration, while accompanying commentary, serving also as an introduction to the discussion, was presented by the vice-wojewoda, Zdzislaw Zalobka.

From the information sheet: "Meat supplies in the fourth quarter of this year are smaller in some items than at this same time last year. Since September of this year vegetable and animal fats have been covered by a distribution quota. In connection with increased demand for food items anticipated in December, particularly in the period preceding the holidays, trade agencies have been instructed to adjust store operations to peak sales."

"Supply shortages and organizational measures in trade dictated by this situation increase the role of correct information," the vice-wojewoda added.

Now it was time for questions. Although the information presented seemed obvious, well-deliberated, I saw that the members of the executive body are not inclined to accept everything as being the result of objective necessity. Secretary Kinecki began with a "hard" question directed to the chairman of the Wojewodztwo Orchard-Beekeeping Cooperative, Walasek: "I can understand that there will be fewer raisins, but why are fewer dried prunes predicted?" Cora worker Helena Porycka asked whether powdered sugar could be purchased without a ration coupon, and secretary Hajkowski voiced the apprehension that following the preholiday mobilization effort, trade would repeat its custom of "bogging down" in January and February. Siedlce Municipal Committee Secretary Jerzy Michalowski asked for an explanation on why the public is receiving only 50 percent of its coal requirements, and Gmina Committee Secretary Irena Pytlak commented that there had been an error, for how could it be that the gmina had met its milk purchase target, while the butter allotment had decreased from 1.5 tons to 200 kilograms. Wojewodztwo Committee Secretary Huczek wanted to know what WZGS [Wojewodztwo Administration of Gmina cooperatives] Chairman Wrzosek proposed to do in 37 small, only partly-utilized sausage plants. WRZZ chairman Dragan informed the body that a volunteer inspection had revealed that invoiced goods were not getting into the retail network in their entirety and asked what steps in this matter would be taken by trade agency officials.

## Volunteer Inspection

In order to ensure full answers and debate, the chairman gave the floor to Stanislaw Dragan for a report on the results of volunteer inspector activities. The activities of the wojewodztwo volunteer inspection team, operating under the auspices of the WRZZ, are an example of citizen involvement. It is a difficult job; the inspectors work in their own areas, where everybody knows one another. A total of 3,329 inspections were conducted in a period of 14 months, or an average of 200 per month. And the results? In the latter half of last year, that is, in a period when there were essentially no supply difficulties, the commissions noted substantial variety deficiencies in the retail stores. A question naturally arises: are the trade people even today not contributing to the increased supply difficulties? How else can one interpret shortages of such items as vinegar, mustard, pudding, fruit cream, oil, grain coffee substitute, yeast, and laundry soap? How can one justify delayed delivery of bakery goods (in Garwolin they were even temporarily out of them)? How long are they going to view as "objective difficulties" a lack of elementary sanitary conditions in stores, including grocery stores (inoperative refrigeration equipment, lack of water and towels)?

"Inspections in recent months have revealed," stated Dragan, "criminal removing of goods from shelves by some salespersons, particularly food articles -- meat and fats. Rancid stocks of lard were found in one gmina cooperative."

Dragan's statements evoked a new series of questions. Some of them were actually in the form of pronouncements, also controversial.

"We had two different allocation schedules," stated the gmina committee secretary from Jablonna Lacka, Irena Pytlak, "one from the trade department and one from the district dairy cooperative. Which one has authority?"

"We would have to look into that," replied the vice-wojewoda.

"But this is a gmina working hard to boost production, to improve commodity output, but also endeavoring to secure adequate deliveries," replied Kinecki, and added: "A female gmina, all the officials are women: the gmina committee secretary, director, and deputy. Authorities like that maintain a sharp eye."

Other replies also failed fully to satisfy the executive body. One of the chairmen stated that he had given orders that escort personnel not sell goods along the way (is not faith in the effectiveness of a mere order naive?). Another chairman stated: "The potatoes and vegetables are beginning to rot in the storage piles, but," he added reassuringly, "natural losses, according to instructions, will not exceed 10 percent."

Secretary Nowicka replied to this: "The tragedy is a lack of cold storage facilities, this is true. But there should be a verification to determine whether potatoes and vegetables are being properly stored."

Following a cigarette break the secretary asked how many still wished to speak on that subject. Six hands were raised. The secretary asked them to make their remarks brief.

After the meeting I asked if restricting the length of statements was a practice they followed.

"People in general know that they should not talk too long," the secretary replied. "We meet once every two weeks, and this means a full agenda. I do not interrupt a person who has the floor, since I believe that there can always be a question about when a person should be interrupted: when he is speaking positively, or when he is criticizing."

Local representatives: Leonard Milczarek, Municipal Committee Secretary from Minsk Mazowiecki, and Kazimiera Golawska, head of the Lukow gmina, talked about supply shortages and prevailing moods. Milczarek: "We have plenty of information in order to take effective steps -- a more precise division, and volunteer inspection." Golawska: "We should not simply accept the situation but discuss frankly where the difficulties lie, for people understand that when one begins construction on a house, it must be completed. It is important that we divide that which we have wisely and openly. It was recently disclosed that an escort had sold half of his goods while en route. He was punished, but did he receive public condemnation? There is a difference between the two. If I had had allotment schedules earlier, I would have played an open hand with people, and the atmosphere would have been better."

Secretary Nowicka advanced a proposal which was marked by female practicality: "It appears from the materials that trade wants to come out with information on preholiday supply on 10 December. Why not earlier? Work forces have accepted additional pledges representing 420 million zlotys. We should deliberate methods of paying these work forces bonuses in short-supply goods. People should have an appropriate equivalent."

Wojewoda Dabrowski: "We retain only 3 percent of additional production for the market. We shall not change the central allotment schedules, but through our own efforts we can correct the situation to some degree." A sharp rejoinder was the response to a question by trade department chief Wojciechowski: "In place of directing the question upstairs (whether enterprise stock fattening falls under the central allotment schedule), one should become acquainted with the directive of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers."

There were three hours of discussion and debate. There was a total absence of the well-known official optimism. Was it because the very

subject did not encourage an embellishment of reality? Perhaps so. Nor was there a tendency toward the other extreme: pessimism. It was simply a discussion among a group of people with an attitude of active interest in the items they were discussing.

Secretary Kinecki's summation statement confirmed this. He began with "ideology," so to speak: "Why have we devoted so much time and attention to this subject?" The answer put in order, as it were, the dense quantity of material resulting from the concentration of facts presented in the discussion and debate. "We have had good results in this wojewodztwo. In agriculture as well. Milk procurement. The situation in potatoes and meat places us at the top nationally. We must do everything to ensure that people can lay out their holiday table in conformity with their increased income and the capabilities of our economy, in short in conformity with that which the people have produced."

The secretary proposed that this immediate goal be augmented by something of a longer-term nature: "In a burst of enthusiasm we feel good, as we should. But with the aid of the preholiday burst, reflecting from the wall, we shall improve the trade situation." And he formulated recommendations, asking the executive body for its approval. I quote the following remark: "The specifics of the moment make the tasks grouped as if at two poles. On the one hand we must strengthen positive incentives, for example, expressions of gratitude for the volunteer inspectors, and on the other hand disciplinary, even repressive actions, for example, the issuing of wojewoda orders in the area of police inspection to catch people hauling to another area meat concealed in piles of straw."

"Take the Bull by the Horns"

Following lunch they attacked the third item on the agenda: implementation of the livestock program for 1976-1980. Attached to the information sheet were three tables containing figures on each of 66 gminas and six cities and towns (Siedlce, Garwolin, Lukow, Minsk Mazowiecki, Sokolow Podlaski, Wegrow). I shall cite some of the data from the information sheet. The wojewodztwo plan, drawn up last year, specified dynamic agricultural production growth, including -- based on the local-production feed base balance sheet -- rapid growth in livestock raising, particularly cattle. And yet in the very first year of the 5-year plan the target has not only not been met, but the total herd has diminished by 1.4 percent in comparison with 1975 (94 percent of target), while hogs are down 8.6 percent (85 percent of target). I noted from the table that in the gmina of Mordy, for example, the total number of hogs has decreased to 61.7 percent, and cattle to 81.3 percent of last year's figures. The greatest decline (37 percent in cattle and 38 percent in hogs) occurred on farms of two hectares or less. The reasons are well known: problems with feed, due chiefly to a smaller grain harvest, and irregular deliveries of feeds from outside the wojewodztwo during the last weeks before the new harvest.

However, the Wojewodztwo Committee executive body was not bringing up the subject for the purpose of ascertaining the objective reasons for the failures. Wiktor Kinecki also wanted very much to discourage possible complainers or theorizers: "Taking the bull by the horns (a figure of speech quite appropriate to the subject), we shall state at the outset that our plan has not been met; first let us make this confession, and then let us determine how we should proceed: shall we build up the herd over a period of three years (as the authors of the report suggest), or can we do it in two?" The secretary noted that the tables indicate that in some gminas the decline is catastrophic, and yet the suggestions contained in the report are... very general: "Must we come up with an answer today on how we shall proceed to act in the gminas?"

The replies offered by vice-wojewoda Marian Romaniuk do not give a clear picture. He spoke long, but he avoided precise estimates and predictions.

It followed from the report offered by Wojewoda Dabrowski that Siedlce ranked high in the national table: third in gross agricultural production, and first in hog production and procurement of potatoes and milk. It is curious that it is a leader in productivity and is one of the lowest in capital investment. "Our two construction enterprises are working on the Katowice and Warsaw steel mills," stated the wojewoda. "This is gratifying, but it reduces capacity for our own needs."

Wiktor Kinecki was the first to comment: "I am glad that the wojewoda has spoken in a way to raise our spirits, so that we do not become pessimistic," after which he gave to the proposal of the preceding speaker the form of a directive: "We should send out to each gmina a letter with a series of questions -- what was the gmina's livestock growth target, why was it not met, and what proposals have the gmina activists drafted for the immediate and more distant future. We prepare our own materials and then we hold frank discussions. We must achieve additional mobilization. The letter addresses the wojewodztwo people's council."

#### Various Projected Images

The managers of the Meat Packing Plant took the floor. They examined the problems of livestock raising from the standpoint of procurement and slaughter. A lot of specialist comments, somewhat long-winded. The chairman was trying to liven things up and perhaps to get the speakers to relax. At one point the manager said: "We obtained containers for stale bread, and we secured a good deal of additional feed for hogs, but recently some old guy has been emptying the containers before my people get there. We've got to do something with the old fellow." The secretary interrupted: "The old fellow should be put in charge of stock feeding at the enterprise...."

This is another mode of projection: a smaller encompassment of reality, but seen in detail.

One member of the wojewodztwo committee executive body -- a farmer from the village of Grochow, Kazimierz Zelazowski -- does not use safety-type words such as "in general," "sometimes," "usually." He began sharply, with the

word "sabotage": "In our gmina cooperative no more than 20 percent of our potato harvest has survived, with a large quantity hit by freezing, neglected in piles and covered by straw too late." He suddenly leads us into the land of paradox, when he speaks about enterprise-run stock feeding operations: "The gmina cooperative in Czerwonka discharges its livestock feeding obligation by hiring a farmer, who instead of raising pigs on his own farm, does it for the gmina cooperative, of course for a good fee." Zelazowski thinks in farmer categories of the concrete, and therefore asks: "What do we get out of it?" It turns out that this is not an isolated case, for secretary Nowicka gave a similar example of statistical hog breeding: "One enterprise simply bought 100 head from farmers, in this way taking care of the enterprise stock feeding program."

Zelazowski also shared his view on leasing land: "I know people who are no longer capable of farming land, but if they are left a building at their disposal, for which they have no use, they could raise a few head of stock."

Those who are inclined to see as a mere formality the party's concern for adequate representation by workers and farmers at various levels of government could come out of this meeting convinced that they were wrong. It is not only the fact that even the finest analysis of phenomena not backed up by concrete facts from real life lacks flexibility and force of expression. I believe that the value of such presentations has a psychological aspect. Hungry for a genuine dialogue, we readily listen to those who do not divide their statements into official phrases and personal views.

It was almost five in the afternoon, time for a summation. It is concise, of the nature of an order with a mini-commentary. Everything will be recorded in the stenographic record of the proceedings. Within the next two weeks wojewodztwo committee officials will be sending out excerpts from the stenographic record to interested individuals and institutions. After some time the executive body will check to determine what decrees have been carried out. The chairman proposed that the executive body take the materials and instruct the secretariat to examine the proposals, after which it would determine its position on the agenda items point by point:

1. Enterprise feedlot operations: put an end to those operations mentioned by Zelazowski. Recommendation: look into the matter. Commentary: there are three variants -- either some people think that we are fools or themselves understand nothing, or we have interpreted things incorrectly. I accept the third variant.

2. "I was not pleased with the report by the manager of the Meat Packing Plant in Lukow pertaining to the poor quality of cattle. Please prepare proposals on correcting this situation."

3. "Draft a feed assistance plan for two-hectare farms, farmers also holding a job, and for retired persons fattening livestock."

4. "Potato storage: the party control commission must look into this matter and perhaps examine the party credentials of certain individuals."

5. "Contracting: an exceptionally important matter. We are dealing with a casual attitude on the part of farmers toward contract terms. Nor are we entirely without fault, bearing in mind that contract terms bind both parties. We shall request that the Central Committee call in regular staff contracting personnel, for we believe that the farmer who contracts on behalf of a gmina cooperative as its agent, sometimes even a hamlet head, sometimes contracts nonexistent hogs without examining local production capabilities, and with [strazacka cwiartka]."

The secretary ends his recommendation to organize a seminar for activists dealing with the matters discussed that day with a general comment: "Socialism on the scale of the Polish People's Republic is well grounded. Within the boundaries of the wojewodztwo we must carry to people's hearts and minds the daily content of socialism."

#### Maintaining the Primacy of Integration

I believe that this statement contains an answer to the question of what are the functions of the wojewodztwo committee executive body. It is one of the practical expressions of implementation of the party's leadership role -- translated into the language of daily practical activities, this signifies that implementation of the party's program, a program extending to the boundaries of the wojewodztwos and gminas divided by years and days filled with the people's labor, must be constantly analyzed, evaluated, improved, and if necessary -- corrected. Accounting to society and accounting to others. We must also mutually account to one another. This is a most important thing.

Second -- it is essential to increase people's sense of identification with the development program as it adjusts to local dimensions. It is also necessary to share concerns with the public. This can become a disciplinary factor, helping reveal new, substantial reserves for commitment by the public.

Finally I should like to make a marginal comment, although the matter at hand is not marginal. We rarely actually debate during discussions. It is frequently more like bidding at an auction: he who says it more nicely gets the vote. Frequently a real debate begins during the breaks, in the halls. When they take their places in the conference room, we feel many times that we are in a different world, that other rules are now in operation, and we frequently hear that which a speaker did not state in private, and vice versa.

After the session was over I heard the following opinion expressed by Wiktor Kinecki: "There is a tendency toward division in people's sub-conscious. According to place of residence, degree of mutual acquaintance, represented enterprise, institution, and sector. Therefore in our work we endeavor to preserve the primacy of integration, cooperation. But in discussion and debate? In debate cooperation rests chiefly on democracy, or on total freedom of expression."



## ROMANIA

### CURRENT TASKS OF MILITARY MEDICINE

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[Article by Col Med Corps Dr Alexandru Gr. Popescu, physician emeritus, corresponding member of the Academy of Medical Sciences: "Current Tasks of the Renowned Institution of Military Medicine"]

[Text] Medical care in Romania reflects the party's general policy of developing socialist society in all respects. The health policy in a state whose evolution is based upon scientific criteria is in perfect accord with all the other developmental factors. Industrialization, agricultural mechanization and automation are the main factors for the greater prosperity, higher civilization and consequent cultural development of the masses. All these contribute to the population's biologic potential, which is accordingly well oriented and sustained. The provisions of the RCP Program and the 11th Party Congress on health protection are primarily intended as preventive measures to bring about a suitable state of health for the nation's entire population.

Medicine in socialist Romania has developed to a point appreciated at its true value throughout the world. The progress it has made is partly because of the Romanian medical schools with their fine traditions and partly because the RCP's health policy since 23 August 1944 and especially in the last 10 years has considerably developed the material base, personnel training and social effectiveness of Romanian medicine by orienting its professional and scientific potential.

Our military medicine has made an especially important contribution to the public health effort by initiating organized medical care in Romania as well as the founding and development of Romanian medical education. Note here The National School of Medicine and Pharmacy, the creation of Carol Davila, and the forerunner of the Bucharest Faculty of Medicine.

From its very beginning the meritorious work of Romanian military medicine has been closely related to the major historical and social events in Romania's history. Its distinguished contribution in the war for independence is of primary importance. Jointly with the first units of the Romanian Red Cross, which it directly helped to form, it provided first aid and medical care for the Romanian troops of the first line and in back of the front. In World War

I a great many active and reserve military physicians as well as auxiliary health personnel were killed in action both on the front lines, in performance of their duty under the most difficult conditions, and in the rear while combating epidemics. And the heroism of the Medical Corps in the war against Hitler was equally worthy of the great example of our forebears.

On many occasions Romanian military medicine has displayed its progressive nature by its successful solution of the most diverse and difficult health problems. Its scientific spirit of organization and discipline attracted important specialists to these efforts. Note for example Prof I. Cantacuzino who, with the aid of his close collaborators Mihai Ciuca, Alexandru Ciuca and C. Ionescu-Mihaesti, introduced vaccination to military medicine in the cholera centers of the 1913 epidemic in Bulgaria. And a great many scientists and teachers rose from the ranks of military physicians, asserting themselves with authority in the various fields of medicine. By their great achievements such forebears of ours as Atanase Demosthen, Zaharia Petrescu, Constantin Gorascu, Constantin Suhateanu, Mihail Butoianu, Mihai Ciuca, Ion Balteanu, Dumitru Combiescu and Nicolae Nestorescu permanently established their professional qualifications acquired from the military institution. Moreover a number of figures of our time (Scarlat Longhin, Constantin Zamfir, Eugen Mares, Gheorghe Petrulian, Petre Costescu, Nicolae Urziceanu et al.) have enhanced the prestige of Romanian medicine throughout their military service by distinguishing themselves by their scientific, didactic and organizational abilities in the army and on the national and international levels.

Romanian military medicine is now engaged in the whole process of all-around development of our socialist society, applying within the army the principles of public health provided in the RCP Program and the Directives of the 11th Party Congress.

Military medicine is mainly characterized by its preventive nature, since the soldiers must be in a state of very good physical and mental health to ensure the national defense potential. The military institution provides the best framework for developing, checking and applying preventive measures. But the army's medical service is equally interested in maintaining public health in general by the same methods.

Hygienic and preventive measures are the main concern of the physicians of the units and large units. The unit physicians are mostly young ones, the unit being their first professional contact after graduation from the faculty. Their activity is unquestionably one of the most important ones to military medicine, representing as it does the closest and most direct contact between the Medical Corps and the soldiers, and if it is to succeed they must understand a number of requirements and carry out all the measures prescribed in the orders, regulations and instructions or required by every physician's medical training.

Preventive medicine is often regarded as the "Cindarella" of medical activity, and not solely by laymen. A correct analysis leads us to a realistic evaluation of the scientific background of this field of medicine and the great medical-social problems that it has been solving since the second half of the last century. The leading fields of medical science and in fact the fields that have

won all the Nobel prizes for medicine have been primarily applicable to preventive medicine. The paraclinical specialties of yesterday and today (hygiene, microbiology, epidemiology, immunology, genetics, biophysics, biochemistry etc.) are closely related in practice to preventive medicine and enable us to understand the clinical phenomena from the aetiopathogenic and therapeutic standpoints. Therefore the practical hygienic and preventive measures should represent, as they actually do, the culmination of the efforts of the most outstanding figures in medical science. We must oppose the attitude of indifference to them, which is solely indicative of ignorance and disinterest.

By preventive medicine we do not mean just contagious diseases, seasonal ailments, poisoning and labor or training accidents. The measures to restrain the degenerative processes of the human organism and to prolong active life are equally important, especially to military personnel. The physicians whose direct duty it is to secure the troops' health must consider the hygiene of diet and work as well as combatting physical and mental stagnation. In addition to specific programs for health education, very precise and intensive scientific studies leading to practical results are needed in this connection. Among the preventive programs emphasis must be placed upon the neuro-psychic ailments, the treatment of which presents much more serious problems while suitable and individual preventive efforts would be particularly effective.

The above-mentioned young unit physicians should not be left alone with their so important and difficult duties but should have the close support of colleagues with greater experience who can aid their further professional development.

Curative medical care in the army, the main function of the military hospitals and polyclinics, has adequate bases and personnel whose worth is recognized in both military and civilian circles. Civilian as well as military patients are interned in our hospitals and they duly appreciate the competent, attentive care they receive which is unquestionably the result of the spirit of order and obligation that characterizes the military institution.

But it must be borne in mind that there are some situations in the army medical units that fail to meet the expectations and standards of the development of our socialist society in all respects, as Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech when the Higher Health Council was formed.

Besides integrating the most valuable advances of the various medical and biological disciplines, military medicine as a leading field is resolving a number of particular problems through its own research.

In our century it can be said that military medicine has succeeded in preventing or eliminating the consequences of the most brutal armed conflicts. But in a possible conflict in which the weapons of mass destruction would be used to their present potential, it is hard to say whether military medicine will be able to deal satisfactorily with the great problems of protection. Under these circumstances it is clearly necessary to formulate factors for a prognosis, and they should mainly represent the developmental directions of scientific research.

Particularly in the last 15-20 years, we have been studying radiobiology as a main modern field that has attracted attention by its new and unexplained

aspects. A great many scientific studies have been made, and some of them have actually formulated useful solutions, but the others, which have been quite numerous, are amateurish and of little practical or theoretical significance and reveal inadequate knowledge of the radiobiologic phenomenon. One of the present problems is that of precise formulation of the diagnosis in radiopathology so that it will have differentiated therapeutic implications. Protection is still an unsolved problem because not one of its principles can be rejected, while in the treatment of irradiation diseases the often unilateral action of the various specialties interferes with the adoption of regular methods.

Chemical means of warfare, of which there is a wide variety today, are still regarded as traditional. But they have been replaced by the new chemical agents with an especially high toxicity and effective speed. Their pathogenic effect, insofar as it is known, has led to the preparation of antidotes. Improvement of the antidotes is still a problem, however, because their use makes a number of demands that are hard to meet on a battlefield at any rate. In the last few years the substances for chemical warfare have been diversified by the planned use of psychotomimetics, temporarily incapacitating substances with serious military consequences. The resulting problems of diagnosis, prevention and treatment are among the most difficult.

The means of biological warfare (carriers of contagious diseases, some of them extremely serious) as well as the toxins they produce also present complicated problems of diagnosis, prevention and treatment. Besides the particularly serious effects, the effectiveness of the preventive or therapeutic measures is questionable in view of the various avenues of penetration of the organism in the case of artificial disseminations, as well as the dosages that are far more infectious than those of natural infections. And the possible variability through genetic processes results in further complications.

In reference to the developmental directions of military medicine in connection with medical protection against weapons of mass destruction, I would note only a few general considerations upon which a forecast could be based. But their preparation must be a primary concern of the specialists, whose competence and objectivity must be critically and frankly considered. Since the prognosis is decisive in the choice of the directions of development, any exaggeration may have harmful results. The prognosis in the development of military medicine must strictly allow for the specialists' ability to deliver, their capacity to provide for the material conditions, and their receptiveness to the decisive considerations.

Military medicine has a standing obligation to approach and develop the various medical specialties in close correlation with the military requirements. In scientific research this correlation is often unrealistic and routine, and we frequently find solutions based upon studies containing far-fetched and artificial data that are considered characteristic of the military field. By way of example I might mention that a number of articles, published as a matter of fact in some foreign journals, have been "militarized" by studies of irradiated organisms, whereas actually the irradiation is a secondary consideration making no practical or theoretical contribution to the clarification of the main problem.

If useful solutions are to be reached, we must concentrate upon methods and techniques suited to medical-military pathology, which methods and techniques should be practicable under the conditions we have mentioned and secured by a particular material base. The procedures should be simple, rapid and precise, and they should cover both the preventive and curative aspects. It accordingly follows that the requirements of the practice of military medicine are distinctive and call for high qualifications as well as very great interest and dedication.

Education plays a major role in the formation and development of these qualities. Our party and state administrations' comprehension of the particular importance of military medicine and its role in meeting a wide range of requirements, from military ones with a direct bearing upon national defense to those of a social nature, is illustrated by Decree No 94 of 16 April 1976 on the founding and organization of the Faculty of Military Medicine.

This institution implements in its highest form the principle of integration of practice with scientific research and education. In accordance with defense programs, the Faculty of Military Medicine will provide for the regular medical-military training of all students and higher medical personnel. The purpose of founding the faculty is apparent from analytical military programs and the research activity to be developed to resolve the many problems constantly presented by the evolution of the medical sciences and the ideas of waging war.

The Faculty of Military Medicine will not isolate or separate the military physicians from their civilian colleagues but, on the contrary, professional cooperation will be of the closest. The rise of a great many highly renowned scientists and teachers from the ranks of Romanian military medicine is primarily due to the university training of military students in the uniform national system, the value of which has been borne out for a century. In addition to the basic medical training, there is the further consideration of specialized professional development and activity in an ordered and disciplined environment.

The same form of basic training is also planned for the future. The Faculty of Military Medicine contributes its particular considerations to the structure of higher medical education, and they will directly aid the training of all medical personnel in resolving the health problems of national defense. Through its close contacts with the other institutes of higher medical education, the institution that has been founded will serve as a vehicle for the promotion of the organizational measures in the various fields of military medicine and will undoubtedly have favorable effects upon the entire national network of medical care. Moreover the practical aspects, the expedited and efficient working methods, and the particular interest in the development of preventive medicine will be extended in the course of the educational process to the ranks of civilian medicine. Coordination with teaching personnel will lend a broader medical-social significance to the scientific content of the medical-military measures. The present generation's duty to realize the potentials of the military physicians requires us to make every effort to duly honor the confidence the Supreme Command has placed in us.

It is especially important and necessary for all the physicians and pharmacists of our time to understand their function and positions in the army and in socialist society, with its unprecedented development. While watching over the soldiers' health as well as national defense, it is our duty to devote all that we are worth, our whole scientific and professional potential, as well as our devotion to the profession and institution which we serve to the service of military medicine, which we represent.

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